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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1k,
Sociological Background

RELIGION

1. INTRODUCTION

•771 Religious organization and activity in China has always been strictly limited by what the state felt to be desirable. Public and private morality were not based on any religion but on a combination of philosophic principles (Confucianism) and secular mores. (On this principle, Confucianism is treated in the chapters on Social Values and Patterns of living.) Governmental authority judged whether a certain religion was conducive to morality and the welfare of the state and then allowed the religion and its adherents a carefully defined range and sphere of activity. Anything beyond that range was regarded as subversive of public welfare and morality, and the religion was curbed or suppressed. As a consequence China has not had, until very recently, any "churches," that is well-organized, centrally disciplined organizations of believers capable of decisively influencing public morality or state policy.

[178] With the slow collapse of the traditional order the effectiveness of government control of religion diminished. The Western powers, 771 as they gained more and more rights and conces- 648 sions from a weakening China, demanded and

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771 got "rights" of religious and missionary
648 activity which no strong Chinese government would ever have granted. But the rise of nationalist sentiment brought with it hatred of foreigners and of their religions -- hatred that exploded repeatedly in anti-foreign, anti-Christian riots.[1]

Meanwhile another trend was visible. Religious groups and a number of outstanding political leaders began to feel that China could not become truly modern and western unless it was reformed from the moral base upward; religion accounted for the power and success of
771 Western nations. Would not a religion -- a
668 religioned Confucianism, a revitalized Buddhism, or even Christianity -- bring about that basic transformation that China clearly needed?

This view was rejected by two overlapping groups which had decisive power in state and society after 1925. The first were the intellectual leaders, increasingly committed to some form of materialistic philosophy -- a philosophy which held all religion to be parasitic, corrosive

1. Tatsuro and Sumiko Yamamoto, "The Anti-Christian Movement in China," Far Eastern Quarterly, Feb. 1953, pp. 133-47.

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and "non-progressive."[2] The second group was the Kuomintang elite, many of whom derived their anti-religious views from the intellectual leadership. For others in the Kuomintang elite the older Confucian view of religions, reinforced by nationalist feeling, reasserted itself; consciously or unconsciously they reverted to the view that no strong self-respecting government should tolerate independent religious bodies that challenged the government's right to control all aspects of public and private life.

Religions in the twentieth century were caught in this crossfire of negative sentiment and attack. To modernize and to become militant was to provoke state suppression, and the effort of religious leaders to stem the rising tide of intellectual materialism failed.[3] In the countryside the old folk religions -- varieties of Buddhism and Taoism -- continued to wither away. Christianity made some advances, but it was always tainted by its foreignness, by the fact that its missionaries came with the backing of the Western powers which held China in thrall.

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2. O. Brière, "Les courant philosophiques en Chine depuis 50 ans," Bulletin de l'université de l'Aurore, No. 40, 1947, pp. 561-654.

3. O. Brière, op. cit., passim.

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771/668 Communist policy towards religion is in many ways the culmination of the trends we have described. It reflects the triumph of materialist philosophy and the imposition of materialism as the intellectual orthodoxy. It is highly nationalistic and anti-foreign and thus insists that all religious organizations cease receiving support from abroad and assert their distinctive Chinese character. It carries forward, through the most effective apparatus of control and coercion that China has seen, the confiscation of church property and the secularization of the clergy. The Communist Constitution provides that "Citizens of the People's Republic of China have freedom of religious belief."[4] This means, in practice, that people of various religious persuasions are allowed a limited and shrinking area of belief and action by an authoritarian government which reserves the fundamental right to control all education, communication, and public and private morality. On the grounds of anti-superstition, anti-imperialism, and anti-feudalism, the government and Party move steadily, with only occasional tactical retreats, towards the liquidation of religion in China.

Both pre-Communist trends and Communist policies should be kept in mind as we consider religion in the Southwest China Region.

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4. Article 88, Ch. III.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

1795 When Shan-chih-shih saw them coming for the purpose of paying their respects to him he was overjoyed. The ancient utensils which had served him in his previous existence he selected from among other objects absolutely identical and with which they had been mixed. When the Mo-so peasants of the village of Liu-ts'un became aware of this they all came, hat in hand, to pay him reverence. Shan-chih-shih, sitting cross-legged, Buddha-fashion, placed his hands on the heads of those who came to worship him. He understood and conformed to all the rules. His father, Wang Yung-shan, accompanied him on his journey to Tibet. At every stage of the route, although he had never passed that way previously, Shan-chih-shih always could describe in advance the aspects of the mountains and rivers.

Shan-chih-shih is not the personal name of this lama, but translated into Chinese it signifies the degree of his personal nature, namely: Perfect knowledge.

Guru Chhos-kyi hByung-gnas. — Much venerated by the Li-chiang Karma-pa lamas is a certain Gūru of the Karma-pa sect who, four generations back, came to Li-chiang (PLATE 63). To this day places are still pointed out where he rested during his journey, and in a cave in Yung-ning territory (*see* p. 396) his staff is still shown wedged in the rocks of the ceiling. His Tibetan appellation is Chhos-kyi hByung-gnas.[8] There were three incarnations of this saint, and they are known by the following names: Pad-ma Nyin-byed,[9] Pad-ma Kun-bzang[10] and Pad-ma dWang-chhen.[11] The latter is still alive and resides in the lamasery called dPal-po gling[12] in Dege sDe-dge),[13] the Chinese Te-ko 德格.

3. THE FIVE KARMA-PA LAMASERIES AND SMALLER TEMPLES

1971 It may be said that the Na-khi are unreligious rather than irreligious, yet at the same time they are exceedingly superstitious. While this is not the place to enter into a discussion regarding their ancient religion, the pre-Buddhistic Shamanism, which has survived among them in all its ancient purity, yet it must be remarked in connection with the history of the Karma-pa sect in Li-chiang, that the Na-khi are adherents of none of the various religious sects which have tried to obtain a foothold in Li-chiang, and this is also true for the Christian religion. Religion is with them a matter of outward behavior or "face," rather than an inward conviction. At marriages, where in former days native priests (sorcerers) officiated, to-day mostly Taoist ceremonies take their place. At funerals, lamas of the Karma-pa sect, as well as Chinese Buddhist priests, are employed. The ancient funeral ceremonies which were very elaborate are now seldom performed by the Na-khi of Li-chiang, but are still in vogue in the outlying districts, such as La-pao 拉伯, and elsewhere in the Yangtze valley where Na-khi exclusively are settled.

1764

1795 Some of the Na-khi clans, like the Lü-khi of Yung-ning 永寧, are adherents of the Gelug-pa (Yellow reformed lama sect), while those of the Tso-so territory in Ssu-ch'uan are adherents of a now much degenerated Bön lamaism.

[8] མཆོས་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་གནས། [9] ཉི་མ་བྱེད། [10] ཀུན་བཟང་། [11] དཔལ་དབང་ཆེན། [12] དཔལ་གླིང་། [13] སྡེ་དགེ།

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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S ch'uan, who had been settled there for more than 60 years. They, like the
114 Mo-so who dwell in this gorge, do not live, as he says, in "caves à demi en-
484 foncées dans le sol," but in houses built of stone. His map on plate 6 gives the trail as below the villages, while actually it passes above them and not along the river but at times 4,000 feet above it. The great Ta-shen-kou gorge, which the trail ascends and its eastern wall which it climbs in many zigzags, is not marked. According to him the trail leads only a short distance above the river. This is an impossibility. No one could walk along the Hu-t'iao-chiang or cross the Ta-shen-kou gorge without ascending it.

From Ta-ku, as well as from across the river, one can look up the tremendous gorge, and from the village of No-yü near the entrance one can look down it and obtain an idea of its grandeur, though not to the extent as if one actually travels through it. The quickest way to reach Bbĕr-ddĕr is by crossing the Yangtze at Ta-ku. Bacot gives us pictures of the inflated goatskin rafts by which he crossed, but not a single picture of the great gorge itself or of the renowned Hu-t'iao-chiang, nor of the villages in the gorge, as previously remarked.

As the northern part of the Chung-tien district is inhabited mainly by Tibetans no detailed description is here given, but the southern territory inhabited purely by Na-khi is dealt with in the following pages.

1. THE NA-KHI DISTRICTS OF HA-BA AND BBĔR-DDĔR (THE CHINESE HA-PA 哈巴 AND PEI-TI 北地)

S
131 The districts of Ha-ba and Bbĕr-ddĕr are situated in the south-eastern part of the Chung-tien triangle and rest on the Yangtze loop in the east; on the Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv peak of the Yü-lung Shan in the south; the Ta-ra mountain in the west and Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu Range) to the north. The mas-
S sive limestone range of Gkü-dü also lies within the triangle.
ST
[184] The most primitive type of Na-khi, undisturbed since they first settled many centuries ago, dwell in this region. Here they follow their old religious
● 771 customs, which is a mixture of Shamanism and the pre-Buddhistic Bön religion
S of Tibet. There are neither lamas nor lama temples as in the Li-chiang dis-
ST trict, nor are there any Chinese temples, for no Chinese live here.
[764] An interesting feature is the total absence of graves in Bbĕr-ddĕr, for here
[755] the Na-khi still follow their ancient custom of cremating their dead. They take no medicines of any kind, but rely solely on their sorcerers to exorcize the demons of disease. They also practise in all its purity the ancient ceremony of *Muaṉ-bpö* (Propitiation of Heaven). The district contains one of the
S finest *muaṉ-bpö d'a*, or sites for the *Muaṉ-bpö* ceremony, situated in a beauti-
ST ful grove of old oaks.
177 Their territory is most difficult of access and this has kept them isolated and
[579] unspoiled. They have not come in contact with the Chinese, but, unfortunately, they are exposed in the north to Tibetan bandit invasion, and several times their villages have been reduced to ashes and their cattle driven off.
S Being unarmed, they themselves fled into the hills to save their lives.
631 They are under the Chinese magistrate of Chung-tien, a town in a purely Tibetan district, but that official, when there happens to be one, usually flies

5; Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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S P 101 name of Chung-chia, and I have little doubt that considerable numbers of them might be found in the southern provinces of Kuang-hsi and Kuang-tung. The Yün-nan Chinamen in fact say that the Cantonese are Shans by race, and the facial resemblance between the Shan and the southern Chinaman is certainly remarkable.

S P 212 191 All the more civilised Shan States from Kamti at the sources of the western Irrawaddy down to Bangkok have an alphabetical system of writing and a very considerable literary language, which differs so much from the ordinary P 177 language used in conversation as to be incomprehensible to an uneducated man. In the more isolated communities, 212 where the Shans have been swamped by the Chinese, 191 though they preserve their own tongue in talking they often have no knowledge of any system of writing it.

Spread over such a large extent of country, there are naturally diversities of dialect in the language, but Shans S from very different countries can understand each other. P I remember a Siamese official from Bangkok who had ●771 little difficulty in understanding the conversation of the Bhamo Shans. In religion they are Buddhists of the Burmese type of Buddhism, but the priests are much more lax in their observances than those of Burma.

S P [142] 181 They are a short, but very strongly made race, yellow in complexion, with features of a decidedly Mongolian type. A very nice, pleasant people to travel among or to have anything to do with, as long as one does not want to get any work out of them. They can work hard enough in case of necessity, and many of them are very energetic traders, but as long as they can live comfortably by working at their fields for half the year, most of them prefer to spend the rest of their time in smoking and chewing betel nut.

They are not at all warlike or unfriendly to strangers. Their curiosity is certainly great, and they will sit round in scores and hundreds to look at a European, but it is a respectful curiosity, unaccompanied by the bad manners which, among the races of Eastern Asia, seem to be a monopoly of the Chinese. I must have travelled some fifteen hundred miles through Shan countries, and I never remember any difference of opinion or unpleasantness of any kind.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Pa.1-1 AE7

edges with stripes of red, white, and yellow. To complete the costume a very short jacket similarly ornamented is also often worn over the other jacket.

But the most remarkable thing about these Shans is that they are not Buddhists, but spirit worshippers. They are the only non-Buddhist Shans I have ever come across, except a few scattered families of the race whom I found in northern Yün-nan and in Tibetan Ssŭ-ch'uan. They have possibly lived so far from the influence of both Burma and Siam that Buddhism has never reached them. By Buddhism I do not of course refer to the religion of China, but to the Burmese form of Buddhism which is so universal among the Shans of Yün-nan.

The houses at Mo-sha are built of soft mud bricks and have flat roofs made with timber, covered with earth. These flat roofs are a peculiarity of the Hsin-p'ing Hsien district, in which we had now arrived. Chinese, Lo-los, and Shans all build alike, and use their roofs to sit on, and also as a place to stack wood and straw. This style of building I do not remember to have seen anywhere else in Yün-nan. We slept at Ta-t'ien-fang, a village which lies up a little side valley, and is called Ho-nam-tok by the Shans.

The next morning, the 11th January, we had a very steep climb up to Chiu-ti-mo, the road at one time rising 1,400 feet in a mile. We were here wrapped in dense mist, which did not clear till just before sunset. The mist in the Red River valley is curious. Down in the plain the air is quite clear and dry. The bottom of the mist is at about 3000 feet in the morning, extending up to 5000 feet. It then gradually rises till its top reaches 7000 feet, and it does not disappear till late in the afternoon. Villages like Chiu-ti-mo, which are at about 5000 feet, live in almost perpetual damp and darkness, and the mist makes it very cold all day.

Crossing a range we reached Hsin-p'ing the next day. The place lies far from all main roads, and the populace had apparently never seen a European before[1]. They had got wind of our coming, and the whole population lined the

[1] M. Rocher I find visited this town in 1872.